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GOD, THOU ART PITILESS!

God, Thou art pitiless—Thou dost permit
The priest to use thee as a hangman's cord—
Thou proppert up the layman's shallow wit,
Driving the beggar from the laden board—
Thou art the easy text of those who hoard
Their gifts in secret chest for death to see.
"Mighty and strong and glorious is the Lord!"
The prophet cries, gone mad for lack of Thee!
While good men dying deem thy grace a dream,
While women wail for Thee and men blaspheme;
A thousand forms of Thee the foolish preach—
F is stretch Thy temples over all the lands,
In each of these some barbarous image stands,
And men grow atheists in the shrine of such.
—ROBERT BUCHANAN.

The Passing Show.

CONDUCTED BY OTIS.

THE special school to train the young in the art of murder which is to be established at Albury is likely to cost £40,000. And yet the "Labor" Government which perpetrates this monstrous crime couldn't see its way to give a decent pension to aged workers because the cost would be too great!

The Illinois (U.S.) State Legislature, in its session of 1909, passed a law limiting the hours of labor of women employed in factories to 10 per day. After the date fixed for the coming into operation of the new law an injunction was granted by the Circuit Court restraining the factory inspectors and State Attorney from enforcing the Act, on the ground that it was unconstitutional, inasmuch as it deprived women of the right of freedom of contract accorded them by the Constitution.

On April 21, the Supreme Court of the State, before which the case had been laid, evidently viewing the case from the standpoint of the wage-slave supply, declared the law to be constitutional. The Court declared *inter alia*: "As weak and sickly women cannot be the mothers of vigorous children, it is of the greatest importance to the public that the State take such measures as may be necessary to protect its women from the consequences induced by long continuous manual labor . . . and ensure the production of vigorous offspring by them."

A contemporary remarks:

"There. That's clear. It's plain—brutally plain. And true."

Under capitalism, woman is a potential animal. As the servant of capitalism, the United States Supreme Court sees in every woman a breeder of "vigorous offsprings," to be ground into profits for capitalism. Nothing of chivalry or compassion enters into the decision. Women are potential commodities belonging neither to their children nor to their homes. They belong to the State—"its" women.

Just as wages for both sexes are kept at the existence line, and hours for men at the endurance line, so hours for women are by law fixed at the breeding line.

Writes a well-known N.S.W. man: "I attended the opening of the Federal Parliament, read the pre-session speech, and laughed loudly from the gallery. It was as unlike what I anticipated in 1890 as the human mind can imagine. The mild trail of Josiah was over it all. The boasted revolution by constitutional means apparently is confined chiefly to reforms in the post-office. Still it was good to see Mrs. Labor giving Mrs. Capital the high shoulder on the floor of the House, and to watch the delightful air of importance and self-sufficiency that made the victors hated to their defeated political foes. On the whole, I enjoyed the function, which lacked nothing of gold lace, black rod, and all the usual comic opera millinery. The spectacle of Hughes and Fisher racing Deakin and Cook to slobber over a defunct king and assure the world of their devotion to monarchical institutions was also interesting. Altogether, the opening of our Australian Labor Parliament made food for reflection."

Sydney Eight-hours Committee has decided to invite Lord Chelmsford (official head of the Government that sent the strike-leaders to jail) to its annual banquet. The sub-committee in charge of the invitations recommended that the released strikers be not invited; it was apparently feared that the Governor and Premier and L.P.

strike-breakers might not care to rub shoulders with the men they had made jail-birds of. The Committee turned down the latter recommendation, and now the victimised unionists will be given a chance of drinking the health of "The King" along with the representatives of the striker-jailing robber class, and listening to their eternal twaddle about the empire and other vampire concerns. But, all the same, every honest worker knows that there can't be any emancipation for the workers until Capitalism, with its kings and governors and whole array of gilded parasites, is flattened out by class-conscious action. The invitation to Chelmsford, Wade, and Co. is a squirm in the mud, the traces of which will cling like dirt for quite a long while.

The Pope makes a threat: "We shall soon be able to deal with the one who betrayed the Spanish people." If the Pope really means business, he'll have to turn his guns on Capitalism—and the Royalty and Churchianity that are its murderous and blood-stained tools.

The "morality" of Capitalism:
At the North Sydney Court, William Bramley, of Gordon-road, Chatswood, on a charge of using a weighing machine six ounces unjust, was fined £2, with 6s costs, in default one month's imprisonment.

Charles Farrington, of Greenwich-road, similarly charged, the machine being one ounce unjust, was fined £2, with 6s costs, in default one month's imprisonment.

Senator Pearce is wearing out his gigantic brain with another great working-class scheme—or, at any rate a scheme to work the working-class. He is going to compel youths under 21 to undergo 16 days military training per year—to fit them to kill unionists who go on strike, also to get them ready to defend the boss's property when some other capitalist gang comes along to annex it.

At the Lanark aviation meeting a chap named Drexel soared to an altitude of 6750 feet—a world's record.

Gregory Wade of the Leg Irons is also going to make a world's record by soaring to the bottomless pit of Oblivion in October.

A smart business Yan'k—Wintemute's his name—purchased 2,000,000 shares in a goldmine, for 24d each, printed half a ton of lying advt. literature, and sold the shares at 4s each, scooping up the better part of £200,000 as a result. Some of his fellow thieves set the U.S. Law Department on his track—couldn't stand him getting all the profits—and now he's out on a £1000 bail.

The Conscription Act will probably come into force on January 1 of next year. Fisher and Co. will jail all who refuse to train for murder.

R.C. Archbishop Redwood, of Wellington, N.Z., puts in this plea: "Christianity does not preach equality of opportunity. Christianity teaches that all inequality of wealth is from God. We should no more rebel against a system which endows one man at birth with great wealth and another with degrading poverty than we should against one man being born with a delicate ear for music and another with no musical talent." And then they wonder why the workers jump on the Church's god with the heavy, hobnailed boots of Honesty.

An epidemic of ptomaine poisoning has occurred in three different centres in Britain. Pork pies, ice cream, and corned beef are causes. The trader's trail is paved with death for such as live, move, and have their being in Poverty's shadows.

The capitalist crowd tells the sucker element among the workers that Socialism will destroy the home, and rob child-life of its glories.

Well, we haven't got Socialism yet; we've got Capitalism; and this what we read:

The police at No. 1 station desire to find the guardians of a boy aged 10. He was picked up in the street in a neglected condition. The boy has been in the habit of sleeping on the wharves, also in empty houses about Newtown. The boy is fair-haired and is wearing knickerbockers and a blue jersey. He was in a dirty condition

when taken in hand by the police, and said his father died some years ago, and his mother only recently. He added that he had no friends in Sydney."

B. R. Wise at Darlinghurst:
It must be kept in mind that any legislation which ignored that sin, vice, and idleness carried with them their necessary consequences, and attempted to break the inevitable connection between moral failings and their natural punishment, must retard human progress. For we had not yet outlived the old law that if any would not work neither should he eat."

A man who has never been anything but a lawyer—and never a useful worker, and who can unblushingly work off that sort of moralising, might some day rob Lucifer of his socks and then preach him a sermon on the enormity of the sin of Thieving.

There was a funny old squabble in N.S.W. Parliament the other day over whether it was wrong to subject Peter Bowling to the brutality of leg-irons in view of the fact that Sleath and Ferguson were leg-irons by the Barton Government in 1892. The debate revealed that among those who voted to save the Leg-Irons Government of 1892 were Labor-members Kelly and Cann. Labor candidate J. D. Fitzgerald was also on the side of the leg-irons. And there were others. Ferguson has since joined hands with the gang that leg-ironed him, and is quite proud of his degradation.

Three shovelfuls of confusion dug out of the political bog by B. R. Wise at Darlinghurst (the outside of it):

"In politics one could never take the course which was ideally best, but every measure must be a choice between two evils, of which the instructed would choose the lesser."

"The truth was that laws must not be in advance of current ideas. Legislation, to be useful, should lag behind morality, crystallising as it were fragments of current morality to make stages of progress, which in turn became stepping-stones for future advance."

"The work to be done now was to ascertain within what limits competition must be controlled."

Senator Pearce hasn't got time nowadays to think about Labor matters. He's too busy planning out a scheme "to overcome the difficulty respecting the naval units' flag." Up to the present he thinks the best way to avoid great internal complications, and in days to come the possible extermination of the British fleet by his proposed mud-punts, would be for the Imperial authorities to adopt Canada's suggestion (whatever that is!). The Australian workers should feel proud that they haven't Labor Senator capable of wrestling with such mighty problems. What is the bread and butter question, after all, alongside of the naval units' flag?

Bernard Ringrose Wise once more:
"Those who from laziness, love of idleness, or other irregular proclivities, did not choose to use the means offered to them of earning a living should be kept at useful work by compulsion and punishment under proper control."

Wonder if he had in his mind's eye lawyer persons, dabblers in queer land-jobbery businesses, manipulators of pro. notes for £600, and other crooks and shirkers who leech it on the honest workers?

Mr. H. A. Mitchell, secretary of the Engine-Drivers Association, favors the provision in the Federal Arbitration Act for compelling employers and employees to confer together. The fact that Mr. Mitchell favors it should settle all misgivings as to its desirability. But the idea of compelling the party that is robbed to meet the robber in conference for the purpose of definitely fixing the amount of which he will consent to be robbed, in the interests of industrial peace, and for the greater glory of the Australian Labor Party, very nearly makes this paper laugh.

Here is another evidence of the failure of awards:

At the Sydney Steel Co.'s new works, where the employees were in receipt of 8s per day for four months while the works were in the course of erection, the wages were reduced to 7s per day when they were ready to start operations, the reason given

being that the arbitration award in the Iron-workers' Assistants' case fixed that sum as the ruling rate!

A pertinent question we want an answer for is this: How many Labor members are shareholders in this wage-reducing Steel Co. And who are they?

Lloyd George says he has a scheme to secure workmen who break down before 70 (the age for working-class pensions) from absolute want. Under this scheme the disabled worker will get ABOUT THREE SHILLINGS A WEEK! O wondrous Liberalism!

By sweating the employees with admirable precision, the N.S.W. Railway Commissioners have succeeded in making a profit for the year ended June 30 of £568,167, a fact which should rejoice the hearts of the International Thieves who hold N.S.W. in pawn. Half-a-million stolen from the working-class!

Isn't it funny that the Church people in Spain, who so bitterly denounced Ferrer for his alleged complicity in the Barcelona revolt, and who profess to hate all physical force movements, should have made an attempt to organise an armed revolt in Spain?

Charley McDonald's humiliation in the lethal chamber of his Speakership is complete. The capitalist press which hounded him mercilessly in the days of his aggressiveness, now laud him to the skies.

Sydney Fresh Food and Ice Co. divides £13,843 11s 1d among its shareholders. This "divide-up" represents the unpaid wages of labor. Only the fool worker doesn't see it.

The *Telegraph* prints a slab of twaddle concerning the Dudley nippers. Some of it: "Lady Honor and Lady Morvyth a short time ago both became members of the Girls' Realm Guild. Lady Morvyth goes to Miss Bathman's school, where she is declared by some of her school-fellows to be very popular, though she only makes friends among the little girls. At the same time she is very punctilious about being rightly addressed. One day a schoolfellow called 'Morvyth' several times, without receiving any reply. At last 'Lady Morvyth' was called, when she once turned, and made a pleasant answer." Now, even if the Dudley progeny are dragged up like upstart snobs and ill-mannered cubs, there is surely no reason for the *Telegraph* to tell everybody in cold print.

B. R. Wise's speech at Darlinghurst recently was a masterpiece of inanity. In an effort that lasted over an hour, Ethel Herrington's jailer said nothing, and said it more brilliantly and more splendidly than it has ever been said before.

When the last European mail was leaving, a railway strike was threatening in France, and the French Government was promising, in the event of a strike eventuating, to mobilise the railway workers for military purposes. "They would then become subject to military law," says *Justice*, "and be compelled to obey the orders of their officers, under pain of military penalties—INCLUDING DEATH." This is what may yet happen in Australia!

There has been trouble at Heddon Greta coal mine, and no work has been done for nearly a month. The owners complain that the stoppage constitutes a breach of an agreement arrived at when the recent strike collapsed, and they say incidents of this kind "make the proprietors doubt the bonafides of the men when any agreement is entered into." Surely they don't seriously expect that when the employers hold the loaded pistol of starvation to the workers' heads and force them into "agreements," such agreements will be kept. The workers, with all their faults, are not so demoralisingly dishonest as that!

Speaking at a strike meeting at Adelaide, Frank Lundie, the well-known A.W.U. man, said: "Many people laughed at the 'red rag Socialists,' but he could tell them that those men were only leading them to the place they would have to go to—the co-operative commonwealth."

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Committee and General Meetings.

The following meetings will be held at 274 Pitt-street, Sydney, during the forthcoming week:—
Tuesday, 8—S.F.A. Administrative Council.
Monday, 7.30 p.m.—Club Executive.
Monday, 8.30 p.m.—Joint Executives.
Monday, 9.15 p.m.—Party Executive.

I use, in English, as well as in so many other languages, the term "historical materialism," to designate that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production, distribution, and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another.—FREDERICK ENGELS.

The Class War.

BY J. BLUMENTHAL.

THAT the history of the world shows that there is a constant struggle between the working class on one hand to obtain better conditions for themselves, and the dominant class on the other to retain or increase their powers, is a pregnant fact that obtrudes itself in every phase of historical development.

Every reform, every privilege granted to the masses, has only been torn from the ruling class by force. Not one single instance has ever been known to occur where the dominant class has voluntarily granted any rights or privileges to the class underneath.

Herein is graphically seen the struggle between the selfish egoism of the numerically small dominant class, and the social or altruistic feeling of the enslaved masses.

This spirit of egoism permeates every nook and corner of our present social life and results in useless and heart-breaking competition, wherein the most unscrupulous, the most dishonest elements of Society are developed in our modern bourgeois capitalism.

Social unanimity and good will allows full play for the development of the good and suppression of evil natures. The first results in philosophical works and the full enjoyment of the bounties of nature, whilst the individualistic system results in the uprise of a dominant class, whose God is profit, and who brutally immolate beauty, innocence, and virtue on the altar of Mammon.

Whenever an agitation among the working classes has taken place, finding outlet for its outraged feelings in militant methods, the dominant class has used the brothers and husbands of the workers, the military and the police, for their suppression. The leaders of these insurrections suffer the usual fate of martyrs: death, imprisonment, or expulsion. The very fact that the measures these individuals fight and suffer for are eventually given effect to proves the altruistic motives of the suppressed class, ignorant though they be, to be of more value to the human race than the class-made laws of the minority for the minority.

Every revolt, insurrection, revolution, strike, or whatever name the uprising of the downtrodden people is called, is due directly to the class above them.

We see the results of Edward III's infamous "Statute of Laborers Act" in the Peasant's Revolt in 1381 under Wat Tyler and John Ball.

We know that Henry VIII created the vagabond class in England when he stole land wholesale and evicted thousands, which led to the uprising of John Ket of Norwich and his sixteen thousand laborers, who were as usual mercilessly slain by the trained butchers of their masters.

We understand the failure of the French Revolution, for the people were too ignorant to be enabled to erect after pulling down, and the usual bourgeoisie or middle "Labor" Party obtained control of the Republic, for we find that there was not one genuine working man in the Assemblies of 1789 and 1793. The middle, now the capitalist, class rules France to-day, for we still find the workers shot down and imprisoned when they dare to raise a murmur of protest over their wrongs.

The Combination Laws of 1800; the Peterloo affair; the Chartist rising; the Paris Commune of 1871; these and hundreds of such risings and revolts prove beyond the shadow of a doubt the class hatred that has existed in our midst for thousands of years.

Only some months back Peter Bowling and others were jailed because they dared to lead the coalminers of Newcastle in their just demands. Mr. Bowling was jailed and leg-ironed because he dared to preach the gospel of the strike, and consequently helped to commit the irreparable crime of "dislocating industry," etc. But when the coal kings strike, that is when they raise the price of coal, they are not jailed, but hailed as "kings of commerce;" "clever business men," etc., and are received with open arms in the artificial society created by their class. How true the aphorism that "History repeats itself!"

Laws are made in the interest of, by, and for a minority who hold the reins of the important offices of State, such as the Judiciary, and are therefore enabled to enforce their class-bound decisions on a populace who have been sufficiently educated in ignorance by that mighty factor, the press.

If the purposely stultified reason of the people cannot listen to the other side of the question, they will, owing to the increasing

concentration of Capital and industry in the hands of a few, and the eradication of the small shopkeeper and capitalist in the process of which what is now known as the middle class is being forced into the ever-increasing ranks of the wage-earning proletariat, they will eventually be compelled to adopt forcible methods to effect their own emancipation.

It must be understood that on the principle of the Class Struggle is based the foundations of Socialism.

Until the working class awakes to class consciousness, and understands that their interest as the wealth-producing class is diametrically opposed to the small class that they allow to systematically rob them of the largest portion of their earnings, they will always remain as they are, wage slaves, with the consequent fear of unemployment and hunger.

That Hysterical Howl.

BY AJAX.

Down with Wade! down with Wade! is the cry we hear echoed on every side. Mr. Wade appears to be the most unpopular man in Australia to-day. The reason is no far to seek. The Wade administration has absolutely failed to satisfy the people. The Liberal and Reform Party is the party of vested interests. As the leader of a party representing a class the premier must legislate for that class, and as a logical sequence all class legislation must fail to satisfy the mass of the people.

The Coercion Act, which will probably throw the Liberal (misnamed) Party out of office, is one of those brutal pieces of class legislation which are to be expected as long as the masses tolerate class government, moreover the Act was passed with the connivance of the Labor party who are now using it as a political cry in their thirst for power.

The premier has never shown himself to be a dominating personality. He is really only the mouthpiece of a corrupt party. He is just what his position makes him. The question of his merits or demerits is of little account; he is only an individual at the bidding of those who put him in power. If by any chance he disappeared to-morrow, the government would elect another person to carry on the class rule, unmindful of what the miners or any other section of the working-class demanded.

Lord Kitchener was made a great fuss of because a few years ago his modern artillery mowed down a mob of savages at Omdurman. Given the same opportunities, under like conditions, scores of men could have done just as well, yet people appear to overlook this fact and laud the "hero" to the skies. The premier of this State was called upon to use all the political forces to crush the Newcastle miners, and being the figure-head he has to stand the opprobrium and abuse levelled at the Government. Wade at Omdurman would have got the glory, and Kitchener as premier here would have had to stand the abuse.

The electors are now asked to vote for the Labor Party and thus exterminate the Wade Ministry. For nearly two hundred years in England the Whig and Tory (now Conservative and Liberal) fought for power. Each party took office with a bundle of promises which each failed to keep, and when the electors got disgusted they gave the other side a turn. Each likewise failed miserably in turn, and likewise legislated for class interests. With the swing of the political pendulum parties rose and fell, while the electors kept transferring their support from one party to the other. As far as the masses were concerned, they might just as well have stayed away from the polls.

The position in New South Wales is very similar.

Such measures as the Industrial Disputes Act, the Public Halls Act, and similar legislation, show clearly that the present Ministry is the party of vested interests, no matter under what name or policy it trades.

The Labor Party shows by its actions that it is a middle-class party, with a capitalistic conscience. The platform of the party is practically the same as that of the Government. This party says it "represents labor," but considering that the candidates are mostly big employers, lawyers, ex-parsons, renegade Liberals and opportunists, it is impossible to believe that such a motley crew, with their machine-made politics, whose economic interests are opposed to the working man, could possibly represent him.

A few weeks ago a good many people who are ever ready to howl "Labor" were laughing at the old clothes fight at St. James. It appears the church people were very particular as to the sort of man, even to the cut of his clothes, they appointed to run their gospel shop. It would have appeared extremely funny if the congregation had appointed a Mahometan as pastor. Yet this is exactly what the working-class do, for they elect men to boss their political shop who must be opposed to working-class interests. The Christian congregation would not give the Mahometan a chance to read the Gospel and the

Law from the Koran, but the masses vote for men who wish to force Conscription on their backs. Some of the church people object to a man because he happens to have a taste for embroidery, but the working-class idolise a strike-breaker as long as he is labelled "Labor."

The church people judge things by the substance whenever possible; they test the goods; but the workman only samples the label.

"Labor," like the howl of "Seab," is only a catch cry. You can vote till you are black in the face. The vote is useless to-day because the political machinery is so under the control of economic class interests, that, whoever you vote for, you vote against yourself.

The working class right to the franchise is strictly limited to a choice of individuals who enter Parliament to buttress up class interests at the people's expense.

The ridiculousness of keeping up all these state parliaments and so many useless politicians in such a sparsely-populated country is apparent. Fourteen hot-houses for the cultivation and vegetation of Opportunism.

Moreover, the election is really only a sham fight between middle-class politicians. All the cries they raise about "Down with Wade!" "There is Death in the Pot!" (what rot!), Capital Sites, Wages Boards, and such like, are bogeys. They only serve to illustrate the rottenness of the political machinery.

Politics should be the reflex of the industrial life of the community.

As the working class is divided industrially, it is impotent politically, and while it remains so divided will always be led astray by hysterical howls. The workers must THINK for themselves, and they must combine on both the industrial field and the political field for their own emancipation.

It is no good "downing" Wade or any other man; he is only an individual. The root of the evil lies in the system, which requires ending.

The Australian working man of to-day who listens to the side-tracking political howls emitted by scheming politicians is in the same position as the overloaded donkey led by a bunch of carrots.

Marxian Theory of Value.

THE key of Marx's economic doctrines is his theory of value, with an exposition of which "Das Kapital" opens.

He begins by separating value in use from value in exchange. Value in use is utility, arising from the adaptation of an article, to satisfy some human need. Air, water, sunshine, wheat, potatoes, gold, and diamonds are examples. It does not necessarily imply exchange value.

Many goods are very useful but not exchangeable, because they are free to all. Such is the case, usually, with water. On the other hand, no good can have value in exchange unless it is useful. Men will not give something for that which satisfies no want or need.

Both value in use and value in exchange are utilities, but as they differ, there must be some element in the one which the other does not *per se* contain. We find what that is by analysing the constituent elements of different goods which possess exchange value. How can we compare them? Only because they contain some common element.

But what is there in common between a horse and a house? You cannot say that this stick is longer than that sugar is sweet. Yet you say that this house is worth ten times as much as that horse. Materials are not compared, nor stability with swiftness, nor color with color.

The common element is found alone in human labor. You compare labor with labor. It requires ten times the amount of average social labor to secure such a house as it does to put one in possession of such a horse.

Labor-time is the measure which we apply to different commodities in order to compare them. We mean thereby the ordinary average labor which is required at a given time in a given society. The average man is taken as a basis, together with the average advantages of machinery and the arts. This is average social labor-time.

Complicated labor is simply a multiple of simple labor. One man's labor, which has required long and careful training, may count for twice as much as ordinary, simple labor; but the simple labor is the unit.

This distinction between value in use and value in exchange enables us to understand how capitalists exploit their laborers. They pay for labor its exchange value, which depends upon the cost of labor or the standard of life of the laborer. What it takes to support a laborer's family, is the exchange value of all the labor which can be got out of that family.

Let us suppose that a laborer requires each day goods whose value is denoted by A, each week in addition thereto goods denoted by B, besides quarterly needs which are satisfied by goods whose value is C. Then his support for each day will require the value of

$$365 A + 52 B + 4 C$$

Now, if it requires six hours to produce these goods, the laborer is producing surplus value if he labours more than that time. This the capitalist requires him to do, as he has hired his entire labor power.

Under these circumstances the labourer who works twelve hours a day for his employer is paid for six hours' work, while he is robbed of the product of the other six hours' labor. The capitalist is able to do this because he possesses the means of production.

The laborer would gladly work without recourse to the capitalist, but he has not the means, the instruments with which to produce. He must accede to the terms of the capitalist or starve.

The capitalist goes on the market and finds there the commodity, labor, for which he pays its value in exchange, as for any other commodity.

But value in use does not depend upon value in exchange. The value in use of labor to the capitalist is all that he can squeeze out of it. The capitalist pockets the surplus value, and it becomes capital, enabling him to continue and enlarge his process of exploitation.

Let the line,

$$a \text{ --- } b \text{ --- } c,$$

represent the labor of twelve hours, b dividing it into two equal parts; $a \text{ --- } b$ is necessary labor; $b \text{ --- } c$ is unpaid labor productive of surplus value. It is the capitalist's interest to extend $b \text{ --- } c$ as much as possible, as that governs his accumulations.

Hence the efforts of employers to increase the length of a day's labor; hence, the efforts of the employees to shorten $a \text{ --- } c$, as they thereby diminish the amount of unpaid labor, of whose value they are robbed.

This enables us to comprehend the significance of Marx's definition of capital, which is as follows:

"A negro is a negro. In certain relations he becomes a slave. A cotton-spinning-machine is a machine for spinning cotton. It becomes capital only in certain relations. Capital is a social relation existing in the processes of production. It is an historical relation. The means of production are not of the immediate producer. They become capital only under conditions, in which they serve at the same time as the means of exploiting and ruling the laborer. . . . The foundation of the capitalistic method of production is to be found in that theft which deprived the masses of their rights in the soil, in the earth, the common heritage of all."

That is to say, Marx limits the name capital to economic goods in the hands of employers.

The capitalist buys the commodity labor (l) for money (m), its product, for more money ($m +$). The formula of capitalist production is, therefore, $m \text{ --- } l \text{ --- } m +$.

In the Socialist State, the $+$, surplus value, vanishes. The entire product belongs to the producer. If he exchanges it for other products by means of money which must be based on labor-time—labor-time money—the formula will be $m \text{ --- } m \text{ --- } c$.

Money becomes simply a medium of exchanging commodities (c) of equal value.

The only source, then, of obtaining the fruits of labor will be—labor, physical or mental, but always labor of some kind or another. Idlers will disappear from the earth. The race of parasites will become extinct.—PROFESSOR R. T. ELY.

At the N.S.W. General Post Office certain alterations are being effected under the supervision of Col. Vern M. Government architect. The State Government is doing the work for Josiah Thomas's department; and the union rate of wages has never been paid on the job since it started. The wages paid are well below the rate fixed by the Wages Board in the United Laborers' case. Thus both Josiah Thomas and Gregory Wade are law-breakers and grinders of the faces of the poor, and ought to be made to eat hominy for their sins. Anyway, if Josiah must get his work done by contract, surely it's up to him to see that his Contractor or the Leg Irons doesn't cheat the unskilled workers out of the pittance a benevolent Wages Board has awarded them.

A Melbourne working-class man was sentenced to seven days' jail for stealing a piece of soap valued at one penny. If he had been a financier or uniformed murderer, and had helped to steal a whole country, and killed people in doing it, they would have tendered him some flattering receptions and banqueted him, and the naivest people would have introduced their daughters to him. That's what they did with Kitchener of the bloodstained hand. But a man who only steals a pennyworth—why, he's a common thief!

Socialism is moral, but capitalism is robbery. They who defend it fight the worker and stand for theft.

You have no liberty when you cannot live on the earth without paying some fellow-being rent for the privilege.

Every fight on Socialism means an advance for Socialism. Even should the battle be lost, the cause would be found farther on at the end of the struggle.

Why I am a Socialist.

BY E. J. BRADY.

It is a long story, rich in incident, full of the varied emotions and experiences that make up a human life; its telling would take too many chapters. I will only give a short synopsis of it here.

Why am I Socialist? Because, first of all, I want freedom and fresh air, a certainty of livelihood, a sufficiency of food, clothes and covering. I wish to enjoy civil and domestic security and peace. I wish to know that if I live to be old, the weariness of want will not added to the weakness of age. I wish to feel if Death comes to me soon that those I love who are dependent on my efforts will not be stinted and stunted by adversity. Adversity is a worn-out term that should have no place in the bright lexicon of human progress. I am a Socialist because I am a son of Progress, a child of the twentieth century with its broader, more humane outlook on the inherent rights and privileges of Man, Woman and Child.

My father fought for the emancipation of the American negro. I would fight for the emancipation of all men.

All men come into the world and go out of it in the same way. All men should be entitled to live in the same way. That is Justice, the common justice that Socialism offers and demands.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity! clarified forth the men of 1793. It was the new call, the new watchword, the new battle-cry, given in blood to a blood-stained World. It was seed sown in turmoil, but its harvest shall be peace.

They have sounded forth the trumpet
That shall never call retreat.

There can be no going back. The march of Humanity is onward. The Socialists are the vanguard, they carry the flag, the Red Flag, symbol of human brotherhood. Never in all history, since the Cross of Christ was uplifted, has such a wonderful world-compelling symbol been held before the eyes of Mankind. The Red Flag has come to complete what the Cross began. If the Churches were any longer militant and Christian they would drape their altars with the red flag of Socialism, they would bear it aloft in their processions, make it a feature of their ceremonies. Is this impiety? No, my lord of Canterbury, it is fact. Fact, your Grace of London. Fact, your Holiness of Rome! If the Master were here to-day ye would find him still a Socialist, still fulminating against the Rich and Pharisees, still demanding justice for the poor, still paying in parable the last with the first, still proclaiming the Brotherhood of Man.

In Australia he would not be crucified again mayhap, but he would certainly be cast into prison with other Australian Socialists, and some of the High Priests of Political Labor even would be heard proclaiming the justice of the sentence.

We live on this planet only a little time, but we live many lives. Let us refresh ourselves from the fountain of Truth once in a while. Let us get away from the market places where we are bought and sold; let us climb out of the Pits, where we battle like carnivora for a crust, and look Facts in the face.

What is life to the most of us? Nothing but one, long, hopeless struggle for existence from the Beginning to the End, where the freshly opened Earth waits to receive our worn-out bodies!

Nothing but a tale of strife and failure from preface to conclusion. The sword of sickness is always suspended above our heads by a hair. How can one have the full enjoyment of Health when he well knows that at any moment he may fall from his precarious seat and be crushed under the wheels of the Car!

How can a parent taste the full sweets of parentage, not knowing what misery awaits the children if accident deprives them of their bread-winner? How can Men and Women love to completeness when they know full well that in entering into the matrimonial compact they are giving hostages to fortune! Your boasted civilisation! It is cruel, it is immoral, it is unjust. It destroys the innocence of Childhood, it thwarts the high purpose of Youth, it makes Manhood a burden and renders bleak and hopeless the homeward path of Age.

I am a Socialist because I realise these things, and because Socialism is the only possible cure my Mind and Heart have found for the maladies of a sick World; because it stands for the future physical and moral welfare of the Human Race.

I am a Socialist, because with the aid of Socialist writers and thinkers and philanthropists, I have not only been enabled to diagnose correctly the illness of modern civilisation but to devise a remedy.

I am an optimist. I believe this sad old, glad old world can and will be cured. It is a beautiful belief, a sustaining creed to live under, and, I think, a comforting one to die with. It may not profit a man's purse to be a Socialist, but it feeds his mind and expands his heart. I know many Socialists, and have made some converts. None of them are saints or demigods, but I feel that,

in the economic sense, they have found salvation, and I know that each and every one of them in becoming a Socialist has more or less constituted himself, herself, a distributing centre for truth.

When I first proclaimed myself a Socialist in Australia, twenty years ago, the announcement caused a greater scandal among my friends and acquaintances than a conviction for petty larceny would have done. To-day, whether the Political Labor Party is avowedly Socialistic or not, the philosophy of Socialism has saturated Australian thought through and through. Outside the close conserves of Capitalistic Ignorance a declaration of Socialism excites neither alarm nor antagonism. Nearly everybody excepting a few conservatives and their followers or dupes is "some sort of Socialist."

There are more convinced Socialists outside the militant Socialist Parties in this country than our most sanguine comrades-wot of. Nine-tenths of the people who voted the Labor ticket at the last general elections were Socialists. They believe they are going to get Socialism through the Labor Party. The Attorney-General has himself told them so. If the Labor Party, as seems probable, alienates the confidence of their supporters by disappointment Australia is bound to see the rapid growth and final supremacy of a straight-out, no-compromise, all-the-truth all-the-time Socialistic Party, composed of the great class-conscious Army of Australian Labor leavened by Intellectuals and Scientific Sympathisers from every profession and walk of life.

Twenty years ago I was boycotted and humiliated in my native country because of my economic faiths and professions. Like many another—less equipped in mind and body, mayhap, to face the music of life—I was victimised and handicapped in my endeavors to earn a crust. To-day I meet "leading citizens" who are making a brave effort to swallow the Socialistic Pill, and many who have swallowed it and find it a most agreeable economic digestive.

I am no longer an anomaly but a sort of credited fact, with a lot of the rough edges rubbed off. Even among the young capitalist class, I meet intellectuals who are convinced that Socialism will come. Meanwhile, like you and I and every sensible fellow, they do the best they can for themselves under the existing competitive system.

In order not to trespass on valuable space—and every inch of a Socialist newspaper is valuable—I will sum up briefly why I did and do and will continue through personal stress or failure to subscribe to the international economic doctrine that is called Socialism.

1. Because I recognise that Capitalism in spite of the splendid organisation it commands is based on the exploitation of Labor—that the comfort, security, and well-being of the Many at present are made subject to that of the Few.

2. Because individual ownership and competitive production for profits lead to unemployment, waste, financial panics, human misery, immorality, crime, and evils unnumbered; whereas collective ownership for use would abolish most of these unnecessary wrongs, minimise others, and advance the material, intellectual, and spiritual standards of the human race.

3. Because I am opposed to war and all its attendant brutalities, horrors, and losses.

4. Because competitive civilisation is inherently vulgar and cruel, while socialistic civilisation would be artistic and humane.

5. Because under Capitalism the cultivation of character, the expansion of individuality, all the higher expression of the Mind and Soul are handicapped for want of opportunity, because the children of the Rich are given an immeasurable advantage over the children of the poor, because genius is starved and stupidity glorified, because successful brutality is acclaimed and the failure of valuable merit accepted as a matter of course.

6. Because the Law of Evolution applies equally to planets and persons, and the materialistic conception of history teaches that Society evolves from lower forms to higher ones.

7. Because the Ideals of Socialism are the highest Ideals that Humanity has ever been offered.

8. Because, finally, having a Heart and a Mind, I can approach the subject of Socialism from a thousand points of view and by each and everyone of them find justification for my convictions. I am a militant Socialist because I want justice, liberty and fraternity among men. I am a Christian Socialist inasmuch as I desire to see established "the Kingdom of God on earth." I am an industrial Socialist because I know that Labor produces all wealth, and that Socialism is based on economic certainty. I am a William-Morris Socialist because art is something more than an affectation; a Marxian Socialist because true Science is truth; a Fabian Socialist because Socialism means enlightenment. A Bernard Shaw Socialist because style appeals to my literary instincts, an H. G. Wells Socialist inasmuch as I possess imagination, an Ibsen Socialist because I can see that the pillars of Society are unstable, a Debel and Liebknecht Socialist because I love organisation and success;

I am a Harry Hollan and Bob Ross Socialist because I am a class-conscious Australian too. I am also an English-Irish-Scotch, American, French, Italian, Russian, Spanish and Japanese Socialist because I have no quarrel with the workers of those and other countries who will all, one day when I have gone down in the World's dust, stand together as brothers-united, in the Federation of the Human Race.

I am a religious Socialist because I believe that the final purpose of the Universe is good, and I want to be on the side of good against evil.

I am a Revolutionary Socialist, because my mind is up in arms against the Infamy by which I am confronted every day of my life, and to which I would, had I the power, most speedily put an end. I would supplant injustice by justice, exchange misery for joy, replace want by sufficiency, turn penury to comfort, convert waste into use. I would have Men masters of, not slaves to Machines. All men who were fit to labor should have the right to labor, and the full fruits of labor should be theirs. To no mother should the desires of motherhood be denied, nor on any father should the hideous modern alternative of limitation be forced by uncertainty of unemployment or the accidents of life. I would hold every child legitimate by the natural equality of birth and men equal by the natural equality of birth.

I am a revolutionary Socialist because I am convinced that collective ownership with production for use must not only succeed individual ownership with production for profits as a next stage in the evolution of Society, but that such a re-organisation of production will have to be effected sooner or later if Industrial Civilisation is to continue on this Earth.

That is why I was a Red-Flagger in 1890. That is why I am a Red-Flagger in 1910. That is also why I hope to be a Red-Flagger in 1930. Literary life in Australia, under a strictly capitalistic system, has been too strenuous for me to expect to be a Red-Flagger in 1950; but if Socialism advances as rapidly in the next twenty years as it has done in the preceding twenty, my sons will probably be taking their children to the anniversary celebrations about that time.

Meanwhile let us go on with the educational work! As yet we are only teachers and to great extent theorists.

The time is coming we will be called upon to put theory into practice. Until the workers as a class understand Socialism and are prepared to accept it as the one and only true doctrine of emancipation for them, there will be no general relief from the oppressive conditions that the majority endure. The Patient is very ill, but if the patient dreads, or dislikes, the remedy, we must wait until he gets confidence in the Physician. Very often, I fear, the Physician is in need of a little medicine too, the medicine of Faith and Courage, and Self-restraint.

The Australian Socialists, as is somewhat natural, have a tendency to disagree about tactics. We are doubtful just now whether we should support the Labor Party or not.

We want to make it obligatory on our members not to assist a political Labor candidate—who is generally a harmless, and quite often a well-intentioned individual.

Instead of railing at the Labor candidate, it might be better to give him, free of charge, a few socialistic tracts, ask him a few pertinent questions on economics at the hustings, ask him up to the Club rooms for a glass of Lager, or down to Comrade Camusso's for a friendly cup of wine; or, if he chances to be a non-drinker, take him along somewhere for a dish of tea, and thrash the matter out amicably with him.

He is perhaps a homeopathic Socialist or a diverted Liberal who only needs a change of mental diet to become economically robust and a stout comrade-in-arms. The parliamentary carpets perhaps agree too well with his feet. We should remind him that the Majority which he represents, or misrepresents, still wear bladders, and walk the hard roads.

Let us be very gentle, but very strong—gentle towards human weakness, strong against human wrong.

It is the philosophy rather than the personality that counts. The least is often the greatest. One intellectual class-conscious girl in a work-room may do as much actual good for Socialism as the best speaker in the debating class.

Another thing that should be emphasized, people can follow any creed they chose or none at all, and still be Socialists. Socialism does not concern itself with religious belief. It is wholly an economic doctrine, confined to the material affairs of life. It applies to Protestant and Catholic alike—there is ample room under the Red Flag for them both. If there is room for all nationalities, there is room for all the shades of spiritual thought that those nationalities embrace, from Theosophists to Tenth Day Adventists.

If the Christian Churches display antagonism to Socialism, it is because churchmen have a mistaken notion of their functions. Their intolerance need be no excuse for ours. No one can say what happens after Death. I think we can safely leave Death to the priests, physicians and undertakers. Our business is with Life, the life that as true Socialists we want to make better and larger,

more satisfactory and resultful for all who live.

If we attend earnestly, hopefully, loyally to this, we can leave the solution of the Inevitable Future, and waive the rest.

The conclusion of this article comes perilously close to a preachment, but as it has a bearing on the subject of Why I am a Socialist we will let it stand.

If the Editor will permit me, I shall specialize in future issues on some of the thousand reasons that make up the sum total of my socialistic psychology.

S.F.A. News & Notes.

Broken Hill.

The debate at Burke Ward Institute between Labor Party advocates and Socialists was poorly attended. J. Brady was in the chair, and Beilkin took up the cudgels on behalf of the Labor Party. He made some remarkable statements. Speaking re the land tax, Mr. Beilkin declared that if a man had the capital to take up ten million acres of land, he had the right to do so, and no Government should have the right to refuse that man the land, provided he employed labor. Then he proceeded to say that the only way to do away with capitalism is by land values taxation! He defended the Labor Party's conscription scheme, and said the only way to prevent war is to be prepared for it. He did not deserve to be called a man who would not fight for his country. Australia, he said, is one country, and one of the grandest planks the Labor Party or any Government had ever had on its platform was that of national defence.

[Tom Paine's words were ringing in my ears: "The world is my country."]

J. J. O'Reilly followed, with a splendid effort, in the course of which he presented and capably defended the S.F.A. principles and policy. He tore to shreds the Labor Party's conscription scheme, and showed how war was a capitalist method for the capture of world's markets.

Flynn was also good in defence of the Socialist attitude.

Rev. Harris said he was practical in supporting the Labor Party. Their Socialist friends were not practical, but they were honest in their efforts to uplift humanity. He detested Capitalism in many of its phases, but held that the Socialist method to bring about a change meant war, and the remedy would be then worse than the disease. Many capitalists of to-day were working men, and he believed that the Labor Party was trying to bring about a more equal distribution of wealth. Some of their Barrier Socialists abhorred religion, while the English Socialists based their views on the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Addis and Noonan spoke, after which Beilkin and O'Reilly replied to the various criticisms. Beilkin said the only difference between the Labor Party and the Socialists was that the latter included Sunday Schools and the former didn't.

O'Reilly's reply was excellent. He denounced the actions of Labor members in smashing the Newcastle strike, and pointed out how Hughes had deliberately gone to the southern district to get the men to seah on the northern miners. He described Hughes as the worst and most dangerous type of blackleg—a statement which aroused the ire of some of the middle-class-minded men of the P.L.L.

South Australia.

BY H.S.C.

Even though the Labor Parties and Governments may not directly benefit the workers, they are at least of educational value to those who think.

As I have previously stated in these notes, many of the workers of Adelaide and some of the country districts have recognised that it is useless for them to rely on the Parliaments of Capitalism—even though the existing Governments may call themselves Labor—and so they have taken direct action with beneficial results.

Apparently the present Labor Government has noticed this awakening of the workers.

When the strike took place at Simpson's the Government probably recognised that if the men won, and they must have won had they held out, it would be a lesson to a body of workers who had been so long without an organisation that they must first organise effectively on the industrial field.

The Premier and the Minister for Industry suggested to Mr. Blundell, M.P. (who made a reputation for himself as strike-breaker at Renmark) that the parties should be brought together, as they recognised that the longer the struggle lasted, the greater the hatred and bitterness of feeling between them would become.

Blundell enlisted the services of the Mayor of Adelaide to introduce him to Mr. Simpson, who, Mr. Blundell says, he considers "an upright and generous man."

The result of the interview is that the men and women employed by Simpson and Sons are now back at work under the same shameful conditions as existed when they

ceased work, pending the hearing of the grievances by a Board of Conciliation.

The *Daily Herald* has given many instances during the week of the brutal conditions under which the men, women, and boys have been working while in the employ of this generous and upright man. Here are a few extracts from the speeches of other labor members referring to this generous and upright individual.

Mr. Thompson Green, M.P., speaking in the Central Markets on Thursday night, said: "He had learnt by asking a question in the House that this firm had contracts amounting to over £3000. Over 12 months ago there was a motion passed that on Government contracts the workers should be paid union rates. Some hard things could be said about the firm which did not carry out the wages' clauses in a Government contract."

Mr. Styles, on the same occasion, said: "He was sure that the man who had treated them as they had been treated would have to suffer for it."

Members of our party, when speaking at both meetings on Saturday night, and also at the Botanic Park meeting on Sunday, showed to the workers how they had been betrayed by their labor leaders, and the reason that their leaders could betray them, and the remedy. This has apparently annoyed the labor politicians' paper, the *Daily Herald*, as on the following Monday they published an hysterical sub-leader on Socialism and the Labor Party, in which we are accused of advocating a bloody revolution and charged with various other foolish things, one of which is that we are expending our energy in wearing neck cloths of lurid hue and singing songs of equally lurid hue. It is amusing but in no way intellectual. But anyway the *Herald* editor is writing from a coward's castle, as he consistently refuses any of us the use of his columns to point out the stupidity of his funnyosities, or even place an intelligent expression of what we believe before his readers. And the *Herald* is supposed to be the workers' paper.

The debate between Comrade Swindley and Mr. Riley on Reform versus Revolution took place in the Botanic Park on Sunday afternoon before a large audience, the members of which took the keenest interest in the debate. No vote was taken, but it can safely be said that comrade Swindley more than held his own.

Party activities are progressing steadily; all our meetings are well-attended; the literature sales are good, and we always manage to sell out all the papers.

We hold an economic class every Sunday morning and Thursday evening, and a speakers' class every Thursday night.

On Monday we lost two of our best fighters in comrades Swindley and Giffney, who are at present being exploited at Gawler. We could ill afford to lose them, but there is no doubt that the workers of Gawler will have an opportunity now of learning something about their economic position.—15.8.10.

Sydney Jottings.

BY F.L.R.

A meeting of the Party was held on Tuesday, 6th inst. Members' attention is called to the alteration of meetings from Wednesday to Tuesday evening, on account of Wednesday being publishing day. Executive's decision to organise a reception for Peter Bowling was endorsed.

Resolved to hold over discussion on press amalgamation till Victorian branch forwarded a scheme upon which it would be prepared to amalgamate. A motion was carried placing on record the appreciation of the action of Considine as a protest against the brutality of the Wade Government in jailing unionists during the coal strike, and inviting him to a social evening of the party on the 19th inst.

In recognition of services rendered, the Liedertafel presented Mrs. Anderson with a beautifully-inscribed three-piece jam set.

Friday evening's social to welcome Considine back from jail was a big success. The Party and General Secretaries briefly and warmly welcomed him, and in his reply Considine said it was not his wish to appear as a martyr, but if similar circumstances again arose he would take the same action. After the initial welcome, dancing was indulged in till 10.45.

Splendidly-encouraging progress is reported in the circulation of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST, which has more than doubled within the past four months.

H. E. Holland speaks at Goulburn on Saturday night in advocacy of the release of Peter Bowling.

A fine day, a large crowd, and a big sale of literature, was the order of Sunday's Domain meeting. Holland opened fire as chairman by calling attention to Peter Bowling's message, published in our paper. Riley followed. Feldhusen was the chief speaker, and dealt with Patriotism, its Cause and Effect. Wilson made the closing speech.

At Martin Place Mrs. Harris was in the chair. Denford made his maiden speech, and interested a large crowd for the course of half-an-hour. Riley followed and traced the history of the trade union movement.

At Goulburn-street, Slade was in the chair, and Wilson spoke at some length on question of Socialism and its relation to Industrial Unionism.

Where Awards Fail.

Melbourne's Boot Factories and Sweat-shops.

BY A CLICKER.

Just now, when, as a result of the paltry little rise conceded to the boot workers by the Federal Arbitration Court, the employers are entering into combines and conspiracies to raise the price of footwear, and thus compel the sectionally-organised trades-unionists to provide the money (and something over) with which to pay the increases to the boot-trade unionists, it is interesting to look into the conditions surrounding the industry, and discover the absolute failure of the awards of capitalistic Courts and Boards, for while the employers lift the prices to meet the increased wage rate fixed by the award, they deliberately commit wholesale and systematic breaches of the award and therefore reach a much greater profit because of the existence of the award. The workers as a whole have to pay for it. In this respect, Melbourne and Sydney factories are on a similar footing.

Factory No 1.

This is a brutal sweatshop. Men are employed on piece-work, and the Factory Act is recklessly broken by the payment of a far smaller rate than the Factory Award piece-work log provides. I will quote only one price, but on all lines, making men's, women's and children's, the employees might get a fraction over half the price stipulated in the log. They certainly don't get more.

For making men's best watertights the log price is from 18s to 20s per doz., with payment for extras. The rate paid in this sweatshop is 10s per dozen—about one-half the price fixed by law.

The employees in this factory don't pay into the union; in fact, the Wages Boards system has chloroformed unionism in Victoria. The inspector takes the boss's word that the men are on weekly wages—and goes away, bluffed and satisfied. Even if the inspector asked each man individually how he was working he would be told: "By the hour." If he wanted to know how many hours the employee worked for the 30s he drew, he would be told 30—at is per hour.

In busy times the number of men working in the making room of this sweating den is 22. Two of them average £1 15s per week; 10 average £1 1s; 8 average £1; 2 average 15s. Although these men deliberately break the Factory Award, and practically blackleg on their class, they are not any worse than the unionists who on weekly wages act as pacemakers, and get through large quantities of work which doesn't figure out at any better rate than the sweatshop prices quoted above. Factories that pay the award weekly wage rates resort to the other extreme of sweating that goes by the name of speeding up.

In our No. 1 Factory the employees are treated like dirt. Out of the 48 hours they put in in the factory some of them might be waiting about half the time doing nothing. This is why the boss wants the piece-work system.

The old and slow workers, and the derelects and drunks, are often the victim of this concern.

To be continued.

The Press Fund calls for your support. Send your donation along.

You can help Socialism by taking 3 or 6 copies of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST every week and either selling or giving them away.

Comrade J. Lee, who has been under an operation as the result of an accident on the wharf, is now progressing favorably towards recovery. He is at present at Camden Convalescent Home.

Send Peter Bowling a letter before Sep. 8.

Bernard Shawisms.

Education.

A FOOL's brain digests philosophy into folly, science into superstition, and art into pedantry. Hence University education.

The vilest abortionist is he who attempts to mould a child's character.

He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches.

A learned man is an idler who kills time with study. Beware of his false knowledge; it is worse than ignorance.

Activity is the only road to knowledge.

Every fool believes what his teachers tell him, and calls his credulity science or morality as confidently as his father called it divine revelation.

No man fully capable of his own language ever masters another.

The Golden Rule.

"Do not do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. Their tastes may not be the same."

Never resist temptation; prove all things; hold fast that which is good.

Do not love your neighbor as yourself. If you are on good terms with yourself it is an impertinence; if on bad, an injury.

The golden rule is that there are no golden rules.

Idolatry.

The art of government is the organisation of idolatry.

The bureaucracy consists of functionaries; the aristocracy, of idols; the democracy, of idolaters.

The populace cannot understand the bureaucracy; it can only worship the national idols.

The savage bows down to idols of wood and stone; the civilized man to idols of flesh and blood.

A limited monarchy is a device for combining the inertia of a wooden idol with the credibility of a flesh and blood one.

When the wooden idol does not answer the peasant's prayer, he beats it; when the flesh and blood idol does not satisfy the civilized man, he cuts its head off.

Answers to Correspondents.

LABOR LEAGUE, Redfern.—Sorry you feel hurt; but it's true all the same. If the McGowenites had never step-fathered B. R. Wise's brutal striker-jailing Arbitration Act of 1901, Peter Bowling would not have been leg-ironed in 1910.

R.T.J., Mt. Keira.—Subs. rec. Thanks, A.C., Canberra.—Received.

E.H.K., Queensland.—Thanks. Red mark publisher's error.

G.M., Adelaide.—Received. Post-cards forwarded.

F.M., Randwick.—The only differences are personal. The objectives of the two parties are the same. It is only a matter of time when the other organization will also come into the S.F.A. The Internationals do not favor sectionalism, and for this reason among others they wish to see all the unaffiliated bodies come into line.

G.H.T., Adamstown.—Received 10s. Will place as directed. Thanks.

F.S.S., Adelaide.—Will print verse. Thanks for letter.

E.J.B., Malacoota.—Received.

R.H., Melbourne.—Many thanks.

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All communications to be addressed to O. W. Jorgensen, secretary, Press Fund Committee, 274 Pitt-street, Sydney.

Perth tram strikers had the Co. practically beaten when the Government stepped in and prosecuted the strike-leaders. The Courts of Capitalism have been called to the work of union-smashing. The militant attitude of Labor-leader Scadden is refreshing in these days when Labor Party men are generally found against the strikers. Next week we hope to be able to print a special article on this strike.

International Notes.

France.

THE Municipal Council of Paris threw out by 45 votes to 11 a Socialist resolution censuring M. Lepine for the action of the police on the occasion of the demonstration on June 26, when the workman Cler was fatally injured. The "Radical-Socialists" abstained from voting. Colly made a splendid speech against the brutal behaviour of the police.

The great agitation among the railway workers is increasing from day to day; in one week 1,976 new members joined the union, and a strike is imminent. The Government threatens the workers with a mobilisation order, but they declare that they will not let themselves be intimidated by this menace. The *France Militaire* publishes a list of the penalties which are risked in case of mobilisation by those who refuse to respond to the order:—1. Refusal to respond to the order of mobilisation constitutes insubordination, and in the case of simple insubordination the penalty is from one month to one year's imprisonment. 2. To respond to the order and to strike afterwards, and refuse to return to work, constitutes refusal to obey, and the penalty amounts from one to two years' imprisonment. 3. To combine the destruction of machinery with the non-resumption of work is called refusal of obedience with conspiracy, complicated by sabotage. The penalty for this is very severe. In such a case the law decrees a death sentence.

Sixteen members of the committee of Social Defence were tried recently for publishing a manifesto to soldiers who are sent to the penal corps, inciting them to resistance against their tormentors, and the soldiers who are being sent there to desertion. All the defendants were however acquitted. What gave rise to the agitation which culminated in the manifesto was the case of the unfortunate soldier Aernout, who was done to death in one of these penal corps. Another soldier, Dulery, is at this time (July 16) in imminent peril of being shot for wounding, in self-defence, one of his tormentors. A great agitation is, however, being carried on on his behalf.

Belgium.

The International Congress of Miners at Brussels unanimously demanded a law in all countries fixing a minimum wage in proportion to the cost of living. Belgian delegates brought forward a proposal for eight hours from bank to bank.

The extradition of Gaivas has been refused by the Belgian Government. Gaivas is a Russian revolutionist who had escaped to Belgium. For some time great anxiety has been felt on his account among our Belgian comrades, as Russia has been trying to prevail upon the Belgian Government to extradite him.

Finland.

Many arrests have been made at Helsingfors and Viborg, and eight prisoners from Helsingfors (among them our woman comrade Ljuba Pstrommova) and ten prisoners from Viborg have been sent to the Russian frontier, where they were received by the Czar's gendarmes. All will be brought before a military tribunal, and most of them are in danger of the death sentence. Russian military justice has begun its work in Finland. Another frightful crime—a great massacre—is being prepared, says *Justice*, of July 16.

Russia.

The following incident illustrates the treatment of political exiles in the extreme north of the province of Archangel. On May 24 fourteen exiles were arrested at Ust-Zylma without any provocation whatever. Among them was an artist named Sergei Sacharow. The prisoners were frightfully ill-treated by the police, especially Sacharow, who was so brutally beaten by a Cossack as to be carried away unconscious. After two days the police returned with the dead body of Sacharow, who they said had poisoned himself on the way. The post-mortem examination, which did not take place till the third day, showed the traces of severe ill-treatment.

The Socialists in the Duma brought in an interpellation on this point. But Stolypin's party would not admit that it be taken as an urgency matter, and sent it to a Commission, where it will probably remain for two years.

Denmark.

In the recent Danish elections the Socialists polled a total of 98,719 votes, a gain of six thousand over last year.

United States.

Interviewed before his departure for Europe, whether he goes to attend the International Socialist Congress, Victor Berger said he thought it possible that the Socialist Party could control the peace of the world by instituting an international strike in time of war. He pointed out that in Germany

and in France the socialists numbered 2,500,000, and included in their ranks thousands of soldiers. Identified with their cause were also a large number of railway workers. In the event of war these men would strike, and there could be no wars nowadays in which the railways would not be absolutely necessary.

Great Britain.

The National Society of Dyers has demanded an advance of 3s per week of 54 hours. The present wage-rate in Yorkshire is 24s.

The Newport dock laborers, who claim to be paid by the tonnage rate, refused to load Houlder Bros.' steamer *Beacon Grange*, despite the fact that the arbitration award was in favor of the day rate. The Shipping Federation thereupon imported a number of free laborers, some of whom were stoned. Three arrests were made.

The parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress has passed a resolution of sympathy with the German shipwrights who have been locked out from the Baltic yards. The resolution also calls upon free laborers, some of whom were stoned. The arrests were made.

Germany.

The lockout in the shipbuilding yards to the west of Dantzic is complete, and 35,000 workmen are idle. Work in connection with several of the German battleships has been suspended.

The proletarian of Leipzig demonstrated for the introduction of universal suffrage for the municipal elections and against the Council Bill, which was then under consideration, and which means a new division of the wards—very unfavorable to the Socialists. The Town Hall was surrounded by a strong force of police during the debate, and at half-past nine in the evening a troop of mounted police arrived and drove the demonstrators away. The Bill was passed, only the Social-Democrats voting against it.

Shipbuilding firms, having locked out their employees, are now sending their work to England to be done (the cable reports). Which means that English unionists will help to defeat their German comrades. [This incident illustrates the "patriotism" of Capitalism. The German Capitalists, to defeat the German workers, will even have parts of their Dreadnoughts, destined to rain death and hell on the British workers, made by British unionists. And the fool-unionists in Britain won't see that they are black-legging on the Germans, and shaping destruction for themselves.]

Spain.

A communication from Madrid states that the gravest dissatisfaction exists among the leading Cardinals (including ex-Papal Nuncios) in Spain, owing to the action of Cardinal Merry Del Val, Pontifical Secretary of State, in not consulting the Congregation of Cardinals on the extraordinary state of ecclesiastical affairs, as was done in Pope Leo XIII's time. It is considered that every decision regarding Spain is due to the influence of Cardinal Merry Del Val.

After the recent great demonstration of women, a petition signed by 22,000 women against a clerical donation was presented to the Governor. Anti-clerical meetings were also held at Saragossa, Toledo, Reus, Algeiras, Orense, Vitoria, Tortosa, Ronca, Baracaldo, Tenerife, and other cities.

The attack on the conduct of the Melilla campaign, and the horrible repression of the outbreak in Barcelona last year, was the occasion of a scene in the Chamber of Deputies on July 7, when Pablo Iglesias (Socialist) said that at that time when Spain was agitated by the horrors that characterized the operations round Melilla, and the measures of repression that followed upon the events in Barcelona, the Socialist Party united with the Republicans in order to overthrow the Maura Cabinet and to prevent the return to power of that Ministry. His words were the signal for noisy protests. When quiet was restored comrade Iglesias continued: "An attack on his person would be admissible were it necessary to prevent the return of Senor Maura to power." At this remark an indescribable tumult broke out. Iglesias was called upon to withdraw the phrase, which he declined to do. Senor Canalejas, the Premier, sprang to his feet, and in heated terms protested against the words of the Socialist leader, who had, he declared, spoken in the same way outside Parliament. He promised that the Government would enforce the law against such action with a heavy hand. After a consultation between the President of the Chamber, the Premier, and a member of the Conservative Party, the President announced that Senor Iglesias's words were cancelled, and he was allowed to resume his speech.

You are not free when you must ask another for a chance to earn a living.

Socialism is not the crowning of the state, but the freeing of the people. It will not make others masters, but will give to the people the control of their own lives as they have never known it in the past.—*Appeal to Reason.*

Capitalism's Trail of Blood.

Or, The Dignity of Labor.

For if blood be the price of all your wealth, Good God! we have paid it in full.

DURING the last ten years, nearly 20,000 coal miners in the United States and Canada have been killed while engaged at work, and more than 50,000 have been injured. Of all wage-earners who die at ages from 15 to 24 years of age—in the very prime of life—more than 18 per cent. perish by violence. Of deaths of wage-earners of ages 25 to 34, more than 15 per cent. are caused by accidents and violence. Altogether there are more than 1,400,000 deaths in the United States in one year, of which 126,000 are unnatural deaths caused largely by unguarded and unmuzzled machinery and insanitary conditions.

By the collapse of a tunnel at Mesquite, N.Y., 50 men were entombed. Fourteen dead bodies have been recovered.

Joseph Rhoddo met with a terrible death at the Gear Co.'s meat works, Wellington. He was blown up to the rafters by a rush of steam and gas.

Alfred Crawley, working at Goodlet and Smith's timber yard, fell on to a circular saw. His right foot was nearly severed, and his left foot was also injured.

Two miners, father and son, were found unconscious in the Western mine, Vic. They were overcome by benzine fumes.

At South Greta Colliery, Richard Murray, 15, met with a terrible death through being caught in the belting and drawn on to the cog wheels of the machinery. His left leg from the knee down was crushed to a pulp, the thigh broken, and the skin from the thigh up over the abdomen to the armpit torn off, while a large hole was torn in his side exposing a lung.

W. Birch was killed by a fall of coal at the Bellambi coke works.

Charles McLean, while riding a horse at the Forbes Show, was seriously injured.

William Gray, a mill hand, was caught in the belting, and had several ribs fractured, at the North Mine, Broken Hill.

Robert Burke was run over by a dray at Bowenfels, and sustained injuries to both legs.

Clarence Clarke, 18, was seriously injured while falling timber at Tumtable Creek, Lismore.

James Byers, shunter, was run over by a locomotive on the Midland line, both his legs being frightfully injured.

H. Foley, an employee of one of the agents, had his right foot broken while trying to cut out a mob of cattle at Homebush.

James Paul, while driving a cream van to South Wolumba factory, Begat, was struck by the limb of a tree and killed.

H. McKell, working on the telegraph line near Kempsey, was struck in the eye with the head of a nail, and is likely to lose his eyesight.

A driver named Feeley was seriously injured, near Quirindi, by his horse bolting. He is not expected to recover.

John Clarke, driver, was thrown from a milk-cart at Petersham, and sustained injuries which resulted in his death.

Edward Fackerell, while working with an adze at Murwillumbah, nearly severed his foot. He had to crawl two miles over the mountains to get assistance.

Mary McLaughlin, an old-age pensioner, poisoned herself at Melbourne.

Last week, in the House of Representatives, Labor-member Catts was "named" by Labor member (Speaker) McDonald, and on the motion of Labor-member (Prime Minister) Fisher was suspended for a period for refusing to apologise to ex-Labor-leader W. E. Johnson. Was the bumping of Brother Catts a revolution, or was it an evolutionary process? This paper wants to know.

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THE PASSING OF THE OLD GUARD.

Lines on the Death of Jock Yonson, of Brighton, Eng.

LAY him down, the brave old guard
Who never breathed surrender,
Throw the scarlet blossoms down
Into the quiet grave;
For death has stilled the gallant heart,
The heart so brave and tender;
But just once more above it
Shall the scarlet banner wave.

Death, oh! what is death but peace?
Sweet peace and quiet sleeping;
And if our part we've nobly played
What matter when we die?
Then chant no mournful hymns to-day,
With undertones of weeping,
But Freedom's song, the song he loved,
Send ringing to the sky.

For did he not in Freedom's cause
Spend all his life in battle?
Prison daunted not his heart,
Nor made his spirit quail;
For still he fought the greedy crew
Who treat mankind as cattle—
The cause that breeds such men as this
Must win, it cannot fail.

—H. MILLER, in *London Justice*.

Philosophy of Socialism

BY A. M. SIMONS.

How the Change will be Brought About.

THE direction of the coming change being determined, the next vital question is as to the manner in which it shall be brought about. On this point there is no room for theories, schemes, plans or Utopias. We must turn again to existing facts and seek in them the laws and direction of further development.

Capitalism has drawn the workers together in great masses and then trained and disciplined them in mammoth industrial establishments into compact organic bodies. The wage system wiped out personal relations between employer and employees, and threw the laborers upon their own resources, developing independence, self-reliance and initiative.

All this aroused in the laborers a consciousness of their class interests, relations and common brotherhood. At first this feeling was confined to trade lines, and the efforts of the workers limited to endeavors to secure better bargains with their employers by collective bargaining through their trade-unions. They sought to enforce their demands by common refusals to work, or strikes. The strike of the past required certain conditions for success that are fast passing away. It demanded that a trade education should be of value. If any man from the streets could take the striker's place failure was almost inevitable. The machine to-day has made this condition the rule. A sewing-machine factory has been transformed into one for bicycles with scarcely the change of a man. Prisoners in the Wisconsin state prison become expert shoemakers in a few weeks. One of the owners of the largest soap works in America told me a short time ago that if every man in his factory should leave, he could train up a new force as efficient as the old in two weeks. The brotherhood of labor has broken through trade lines.

Other facts teach the same lesson. Some years ago there was a strike in the New Bedford Cotton Mills. Although everything seemed favorable to the strikers they soon came back to work (as many as could) defeated. Their work was being rapidly transferred to the child operated mills of the South. The circle of brotherhood of these New England workers was widened to include these little ones by the same stern law that Carlyle pointed out in his story of the poor widow of Edinburgh, who appealed to one after another of the charitable societies and individuals of that city only to be rejected because she did not belong in their particular circle of humanity, and who was then taken with fever and in her death proved

her common sisterhood by infecting twelve of those who had refused her.

Still another instance illustrating a double point. England is the home of "pure and simple" trades-unionism—the organization along trade lines for economic purposes only. The strongest union in England is the engineers. Some time ago this union struck. Their coffers were full beyond the wildest dreams of early trades-unionists. The public gave additional sums of great amount. Their organization and discipline was perfect. Yet they failed at every point. Why? Because while they posted pickets in Leeds and Birmingham and Sheffield and along the Thames and the Clyde, they forgot to guard South Chicago and Homestead and Pittsburg. They never thought of the "scabs" in the Brooks and Baldwin locomotive works, and so they found themselves being undersold in the markets of the world, and were forced to recognize that only a quick acceptance of their employers' demands would save them from the total loss of what faint opportunity remained for the sale of their labor power.

Everywhere the fact of a world market and a cosmopolitan laborer is arguing out to the logical conclusion of an international brotherhood of toil and a world-wide revolution. In vain does the capitalistic class raise the cry of a false patriotism and seek to arouse race and national prejudice. The fatherland of labor is as wide as human suffering and will not be bound by narrow geographical or racial lines.

Further Extension of Brotherhood.

Even with all this broadening of human unity there yet remained lines of division and separation to wipe out before the laborer was ready to enter upon his last strong struggle for human freedom. There are, so to speak, vertical as well as horizontal lines of division. There was an aristocracy of labor composed of those having a more elaborate education or preparation for their work than others. These have constituted the so-called "brain-workers." A common complaint of the ignorant against socialists has been that they refused to accord to such workers the dignity of being productive laborers. On the contrary, no other philosophy has ever so clearly pointed out the value and historical function of organization and direction. It has only been insisted upon that the fact previously alluded to that such labor is no part of the capitalist's function, be recognized. These workers, however, have always sought to keep aloof from their more sorely oppressed brothers and to affiliate with and imitate the manners and customs of the capitalistic class. New economic developments, however, are changing this.

The Economic Struggle always a Political Struggle.

The change is then to come through an international movement of the laborers to obtain control of the tools and land upon whose use their life depends, that they may control the distribution of the product. What will cause them to take this step? Turn again to the book of life and read your answer in the course of events. The laborer seeking through economic struggles to better his condition comes ever into conflict with the fact referred to in the beginning of this article, that the governing power belongs to his opponents. When he strikes it is not the capitalist as a capitalist that overthrows him, but the capitalist under the disguise of government. In the last analysis it is the police, the troops, and courts that conquer him.

He sees the laws, the courts, the press, the force of public opinion, the system of education and the pulpit in the hands of his masters. Yet he has the ballot, and is told he is a ruler. He has, then, been led hither and thither through his ignorance and compelled to elect to power his own oppressors. This process has at last taught him his power. When he has once thoroughly realized that the economic division is the only political one of interest to him, and begins to use his vote along with his power to strike, the beginning of the end of capitalism is at hand, and it is time to write the closing chapters of its history.

Let us now in one sentence recapitulate the philosophy we have been discussing.

Our present society is to be transformed through a class-conscious revolt of the workers having as its object the capture of the machinery of social control that the productive and distributive forces of society may be collectively organized in the interest of all producers.

I would ask the reader to study the above sentence carefully. It is the fundamental position of the socialist philosophy. Given to the world over fifty years ago, it is the common platform upon which to-day over ten million workers, with branches in every land where capitalism has entered, are marching on to certain victory. Yet in all the multitude of discussions concerning Socialism this position has never been disputed in one of its essential portions, and unless it is discussed the Socialist position is untouched. It would seem fair to say now that if after fifty years of hostile examination by the best intellects that the capitalism of every nation on earth could produce, no flaw has been found, there is

at least a tremendous presumption raised of its invulnerability.

The victory is certain, the ultimate goal clear, the manner of its attainment indisputable as to its general outline. The workers will soon have possession of the governing powers.

Upon the solid foundation of the principles here outlined the workers of the world are uniting in mighty class-conscious bodies for this last step in social evolution. Thoroughly aware of their peculiar mission and firm in the assurance of final victory, they never "compromise truth to make a friend, never withhold a blow from error lest they make an enemy." Recognizing in all other political parties only divisions of the ruling capitalist class, they consistently look upon all suggestions of fusion as traitorous to their mission in social evolution and a betrayal of the class they represent.

THE END.

Pars from Other Papers.

THE iron law of wages is much the same as the rule of gold.

Idleness is a crime when committed by a poor man. It is a virtue in the rich.

A man may be respectable after he gets rich, but it is hard to be decent first and then get rich.

Why should a capitalist take what many laborers make? That is the whole idea behind Socialism.

In this age of cement it sometimes seems that the hearts of the masters and the heads of the workers are made of that article.

Giving a Christmas dinner to the man who has been robbed does not square the matter. The only thing that will fix it is to stop the robbery.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The laborer's power of production is so great that a small minority serves to supply all the riotous luxuries of the ruling class. So it is that when these few have been selected from the great army of labor the rest are left to rot and starve in beggared idleness.

Wage-slavery depends for its perpetuation, not upon the constant watchfulness of armed guards, not upon high barricades and keen-scented bloodhounds, but upon Social Institutions. The capitalist exploits, degrades, and owns the wage-worker because he owns the thing which that wage-worker must use if he would live.

A revolutionary movement requires and demands brave men. Out of the very breath of revolution brave men come forth—men who count as nothing the cost to themselves of overthrowing a system of society that spells slavery for most, and places the few on the Olympian heights of luxury.

The world is praising Robert Burns, because they found out, after he was dead, that he had brains and heart and the gift of song, although he was a poor cotter. But the grandson of Burns was recently discovered in London, working at the age of 68, and in such abject poverty that he had to apply for an old-age pension. Capitalism remembers the genius and his people so blooming well.

The chief ends of Socialism are honesty and opportunity.

How much is "your share" in what you produce? And how much right has any other fellow to it?

Capitalists wade over hell on the backs of the workers in order that they may enter heaven.

Capitalism has reduced a majority of the people to renters and tenants. Socialism will enable them to secure homes.

No thing good was ever won without encountering opposition. The opposition that is developing to Socialism is a tribute to its strength.

Capitalism shuts men from working when they want to work. Capitalists absorb the product of labor without giving anything in return.

Our despoilers give us charity by way of adding insult to injury. Being used to both, we resent neither.

The professional politician's fondness for the people is of a cannibalistic nature; he feeds on them.

Socialism is so immoral that it would stop the robbery of the workers.

Speaking of old party politicians: You vote for them, and they vote against you.

Wherever capitalism rules corruption runs at high-tide.

Some people contend that Socialism is but a beautiful dream, but most of us are now beginning to realize that capitalism is a horrible nightmare.

When man objects to being trampled on, the masters say he is dangerous to society.

The average worker makes a good living. The only trouble is: the master gets it instead of the worker himself.

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